and it was with some difficulty that he was allowed to see me and answer certain linguistic questions which I put to him. If he has not been sent back to his country, it would be a good opportunity for our Government to get him to the Punjab in the cold weather with the view of our obtaining more detailed information than we now possess regarding the Khajuni, that extraordinary language to which I have several times alluded. [This was done on my second official mission to Kashmir in 1886.]

The name of *Rai, Raish, Rayo*, applied to Muhammadans, may sound singular to those accustomed to connect them with Hindu rulers, but it is the ancient name for "King" at Gilgit (for which "Nawab" seems a modern substitute in that country)—while Shah Kator* in Chitral. Them in Hunza and Nagyr, Mehtar (Mihtar) and Rakhist in Yasin and Tankhas in Gilgit also lead for speculation. The Hunza people say that the King's race in Moghulan (or Mogul ?) [illegible] call the Biliq Sawaash and allow that he is Aishea (this probably means that he is descended from Ayesha, the wife of Muhammad).† Under the king or chief, for the time being, the most daring or intriguing hold office and a new element of disturbance has now been introduced into Dardistan by the Kashmir faction at every court [or rather robber's nest] which seeks to advance the interests of [illegible]

* This was the name of the grandfather of Aman-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitral (1877). Cunningham says that the title of "Katore" has been held for many years. I may incidentally mention that natives of India who had visited Chitral did not know it by any other name than "Katore" the name of the principal town, while Chitral was called "a Kafir village surrounded by mountains" by Sayid Muhammad, a Laghmani Kizzilbu (or half) Musulman in 1868.

† This is the plausible Gilgit story, which will, perhaps, be adopted in Hunza when it becomes truly Muhammadan. In the meanwhile, my endeavour in 1866 to find traces of Alexander the Great's invasion in Dardistan, has led to the adoption of the myth of descent from that Conqueror by the Chinese Governor or the ancient hereditary "Thum" of Hunza, who really is "ayeshi," or "heaven-born," owing to the miraculous conception of a female ancestor. "Moghulan" is the direct ancestor of the kindred Nagyr line, "Girkin," his twin-brother and deadly foe, being the ancestor of the Hunza dynasty. (See Genealogy on pages 69 and 111.)

[illegible] interior places of conquest of the Mahárájá, our Anthony. While the name of Wazir is now common as a "minister," we find the names of the subordinate offices of Trangpá, Yarfá, Zaynú, Gorpá, etc., etc., which point to the reminiscences of Tibetan Government and a reference to the "Official Designations" in Part II. of my "Dardistan" will direct speculation on other matters connected with the subject.

I need scarcely add that under a Government, like that of Chitrál, which used to derive a large portion of its revenue from kidnapping, the position of the official slave-dealer (Diwánbigi)* was a high one. Shortly before I visited Gilgit, a man used to sell for a good hunting dog (of which animal the Dards are very fond), two men for a pony and three men for a large piece of pattú (a kind of woollen stuff). Women and weak men received the preference, it being difficult for them to escape once they have reached their destination. Practically, all the hillmen are republicans. The name for servant is identical with that of "companion;" it is only the prisoner of another tribe who is a "slave." The progress of Kashmir will certainly have the effect of stopping, at any rate nominally, the trade in male slaves, but it will reduce all subjects to the same dead level of slavery and extinguish that spirit of freedom, and with it many of the traditions, that have preserved the Dard races from the degeneracy which has been the fate of the Aryans who reached Kashmir and India. The indigenous Government is one whose occasional tyranny is often relieved by rebellion. I think the Dard Legends and Songs show that the Dards are a superior people to the Dogras, who wish to take their country in defiance of treaty obligations,† and I, for one, would almost prefer the continuance of present anarchy which may end in a national solution or in a *direct alliance* with the British, to the *spinier* policy of Kashmir which, without shedding blood,‡ has drained the

* This designation is really that of the Minister of Finances.

† This was written in 1866.

‡ I refer only to the present rule of Kashmir itself and not to the massacres by Kashmir troops in Dardistan, of which details are given elsewhere.

[illegible] from a common racial source these supernatural beings have been long enough in the possession of each to acquire independent existence in its language. This of course probably represents an invention of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two great sections into which the Shire-speaking population is divided, the socially inferior Yaokinse represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Bumbudzi-speaking peoples, while the Shire were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yaokinse their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, occasioned by circumstances which goes on at the present day, and in part to political dominance in the past, which is quite recent times succeeded to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakhte family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented :—

1. By Animate Beings possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.

2. By Qualities or Virtues pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil

from the Karoli Pass to the Gilgit village, a distance of 103 miles, lies south-east to south-south-west with its small surrounding valleys of Kamri, Tarshing, Pershing, Sai, Aramanah and Bagrot, and along the Astore river from Gilgit to Kamri, with its adjacent valley of Astore, a distance of 29 miles.

The country was first conquered a short by the troops of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir under Kunt Kahir Shah from Gauhar Aman, the Khushwakht Chief of Yasin, who had usurped the district from Sikandar Khan and his brother Karim Khan, the rightful rulers of Gilgit. Karim Khan had escaped to Kashmir to ask for help, and returned with a large force under Kunt Kahir Shah. Hearing the news of their approach, Gauhar Aman fled to Yasin, leaving the country to be possessed by these without bloodshed. The country was restored to the rightful rulers, but were kept under the Maharaja of Kashmir to keep the district under the direct jurisdiction of his own officials. The British Agency was established in 1889. The Political Agent, an officer of the Government of India, and the Wazir-i-Wazarat, an officer of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, have their headquarters at Gilgit proper. The latter has jurisdiction over the district only, while the former, in addition to his control over Gilgit, has political relations with the surrounding states of Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Ishkoman, Yasin, Chitral and the Chitral republic, which all acknowledge the supremacy of the Kashmir Durbar. Gilgit is garrisoned by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under a General Officer Commanding appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. The troops are relieved every two years.

A good pony road runs between Srinagar, Gilgit, Chitral and Hunza, remaining open for traffic from June to October. It is closed from November to May, owing to the heavy fall of snow on the Tragbal (Razdiangan) and the Burzil passes. However, the ordinary foot path is carried across the passes at favourable opportunities by local coolies. Kashmir, Gilgit and Chitral are also connected by a telegraph line.

The present inhabitants of the country are all Mohammedans, chiefly of the Shia sect, with a few Sunnis and Wahabis. The principal tribes are Kanjuts, Shins, Yashkuns (Yashkuns), Kuranjas, Dards and Gujars. They are again divided into several families called after the names of distinguished ancestors. I am of the opinion that the Kanjuts are the original inhabitants of Gilgit, while the Yashkuns, Shins and Dards came afterwards in the above order and conquered the former inhabitants.

The Yashkuns are probably an Aryan race, having arrived from Central Asia via the Khaibr Kush. Being stronger than the aborigines, they succeeded in conquering these districts, made the original inhabitants their servants and named them "Kranjas" (slaves).

The Shins profess to be the descendants of Arabs. They are probably Jews, and have come via Afghanistan from either Persia or Turkey. They prefer a style of self-government, and endeavour wherever they settle to continue this form of their original government. It is of interest to note, however, that before embracing Islam the Shins, in this resembling the Hindus, disliked meat, milk or even ghi made from cow's milk. Disapproval of the keeping of bulls and regarded even a bull-calf with aversion. If a Shin had taken two wives, one of his own tribe and the other of the Yashkun tribe, the children

of the former would be Shins and those of the latter would be Yeshkuns. This shows that their family system takes the mother into consideration.

The Brons are said to have come from Rajouri, a district in Kashmir, where they belonged to a ruling family of the district.

The Gilgiti here recently come to these parts and speak the same dialect as in India.

Besides these, there is another family of the former Mohammedan rulers of the country called "Mir." They originally came from Skardu about three centuries ago, and professed to be the descendants of Alexander the Great. The inhabitants considered them to have been born of a fairy, and this idea leads the people to think that their rulers were of a superior race resulting on the throne, and that therefore it was necessary to honour and obey them.

The people live very simply and their requirements are few. Each one is himself a cultivator, a weaver, a carpenter, etc. Their dress, which they weave from the wool of sheep and goat, includes the dadan (cloak), woollen pyjamas, a woollen shirt and a felted cap. The women wear loose trousers, a shirt and a cap, with a few silver ornaments and shell bracelets. They wear on their feet a kind of leather socks called pabbu, made either of bear skin or of cow hide. For hill journeys they wear their feet in pieces of goat or bear skin which they call dawal.

The chief amusements of the people is polo, which they play with the utmost zest, and shooting matches, bow and arrow with their matchlocks for the sake of sport, skin and wool.

The former language of the people was Sanskrit, but the dialect now spoken is generally called "Shina," though the Chilasis call it "Dangrik." It contains many Persian as well as Persian words.

Such are the tribes to whom the Ishkoman and Gupsun appertain, but they have lived together for such a long period under the Buddhist and Mohammedan rulers that it is now difficult to know which of the ceremonies was originally observed by each separate tribe.

(a)

The Festivals of "Shino Shoomi."

The advent of spring in the Gilgit country brings with it the great festival of "Shino Shoomi," which corresponds to the English May-day. It lasts about fifteen days, beginning in the middle of February and ending about the beginning of March. As following that the long cold winter is at an end with all its accompanying hardships, and that spring is nigh, bringing with it warmth and life and a renewal of the scanty stock of provisions which has run dangerously low during the past months, the harvest is hailed with much rejoicing by the simple Gilgit folk. In order to observe this feast rightly, the people, twelve days before its commencement, put the seeds of wheat into a wooden basin. They fill this up with water and keep the mixture wet for five days, after which they take it out and place it in a small pit dug for the purpose in the ground, over which stones are heaped. The wheat is left in this pit for four days, after which the grain is sent

*[illegible]

"Dan Dag" ceremony, performed with a slight difference at Thargram, will be dealt with separately.

Sculptured Stones.[1]

On the bank of the Indus river a big stone is seen about a mile's distance from the entrance of Shangla Kohat. (Chilas Kohistan) where there exist some basement's here. It bears a figure of a Buddhist Stupa [illegible]. The carving begins a little above the foot of the stone. Its height is to a little longer than a man. Though finely engraved, it is an unlikely ornamental one, although it has been engraved for so long a time in the action

of the weather, its white colour is still to be recognized from a distance. On this rock there are also many other figures of the same kind, but they are somewhat smaller in size than the one above-mentioned. Some two or three miles below this place, there are numerous stones of various sizes on the river bank bearing the figures of goats and sacrifices, &c. Some of the stones show representations of men, while the others are those of deer. At some places the carvings are seen on the top of a stone as well as on its sides. The same kind of figures are also seen in the Bagrot Valley engraved on rock faces between the Sachee and Bubin villages.[2]

At Barmas, near Gupis, in the Yaz valley, there are rare pictures of Buddha. One is carved on a stone, and the other is a painting of Buddha sitting among his disciples.

At another place, in the neighbourhood of Chilas, there is a rock still larger in size, and on its face with them are a good many figures. There are also two or three carvings of complete with, a large number of men, goats, bodies and cows, &c., engraved on them. On this stone there is an inscription written in some ancient character. The same carvings are noticed for some way along the river, which have been are not sufficiently to mention to do them any injury. It shows that in a remote period, this part of Chilas was inhabited by Buddhists. The inhabitants of Chilas are under the impression that all these inscriptions are made by the fairies.[3] The tradition is that in ancient times the land was

[1] [illegible] village are situated in the Gupis Valley.

[2] A similar relief is said to be found in the district [illegible] of Lower Swat and Chitral regarding the "Hindu Rock" (Pir-e-Sabz) and across the valley of Buddhist origin found in some [illegible] (Ed.)

[3] [illegible]

frequently visited by fairies who used to make these inscriptions, as in the opinion of the Chiliars it is beyond man's power to produce such inscriptions. It is also affirmed that these fairies were seen in three days by all men, but nowadays they are visible to no one except to a great Mullah by dint of his miracles. The Bagrot people say that the carvings were inscribed on stones by the fairies on the night of "Shina Ramma," and that on the same night the fairies frequently used to rub away the figures from one stone and to engrave the same on another.

The Consumers of the River.

Sir Khan is said to be the name of Khaji Sachami, and lived at Ghandarch, a village near Gulda in the District of Astore. The villagers used to present grass to this goddess and prayed before her even for the supply of their wants. Her followers were strictly prohibited from keeping cows, or drinking their milk, and were under the impression that by so doing they were apt to lose their flocks, herds, or the produce of their lands.

"Jumeeree" and "Dawaree."

At Gilgit proper and in the surrounding villages there are even now small tracts of land called "Jumeeree" and "Dawaree." The former is situated on the river bank and the latter at the foot of a hill, except at some places in which they both are found at the foot of a hill. In ancient times, when Islam had not spread to these parts, the infidels used to bury the dead at "Jumeeree," and a few days after they gathered and carried away the bones to "Dawaree," where they buried them in one pit. Remnants of bones still exist in these places, though the graves have almost been obliterated by time. In these circumstances, however, one is not wrong in supposing that Mohammadanism is of recent growth.

Several old men still living at Gilgit relate that they used to play with the bones, bangles and rings which they found in "Jumeeree," but to carry away such articles to their houses was considered improper. From this it appears that the dead bodies were buried with their ornaments.

Sakhun Village and a "Chenar" Tree.

There is a small populous village named Sachun in the Hagrot Valley. It is said that when this tract was lying waste, a Pakir named Shah Surya passed through and halted there for a short time. Becoming thirsty and finding no water, he prayed to God for a good supply. His prayer was granted, and a sufficient quantity of water burst forth from an adjacent hill. After a few days Shah Surya felt the loss of his son, and planting his stick, which was of chenar wood, deep into the ground, prayed again to the Almighty to make it into a large chenar tree. This prayer was also granted, and a big tree grew, under whose shadow he afterwards used to sit. The branches of this tree are said to have been once so large and sprawling that they touched the neighbouring hill about two yards distant, across the Hagrot Nullah. The tree was afterwards burnt by the Shinaqis, but after a short period five shoots sprung out from its trunk, and these are still to be seen, forming an enclosure about 30 yards wide.

171 The ancient name of the place was Sargin. Later, the
172 name of Gilit was given to it, and this has been changed to Gilgit by the Sikh and Dogra conquerors; but among the inhabitants it is still known as Gilit or Sargin-Gilit. Its identity with the Gelalatu of ancient Sanscrit literature has been suggested.* A few remains still exist of ancient stone buildings, apparently of the same description as the Martund and Pandrethan temples in Cashmere. These remains indicate that a considerable amount of wealth and scientific skill must once have existed in this remote valley, of which not even the traditions has survived.

162. The settled population of the Gilgit district, which is very
197 mixed, amounts to about 4,000 persons. The language spoken is Shina, though the Shins are numerically inferior to the rest of the population. The Gilgit pronunciation of Shina is supposed to be more refined than the dialects spoken in neighbouring valleys, but of late it has received a large infusion of Cashmeri, Dogri, Hindustani, and Punjabi
173 expressions. The former rulers had the title of Ra, and there is reason to suppose that they were at one time Hindoos, but for the last five centuries and a half they have been Mahommedans. The names of the Hindoo Ras have been lost, with the exception of the last of their number, Shiri Buddoot. Tradition relates that he was killed by a Mahommedan adventurer, who married his daughter and founded a new dynasty, since called Trakhani, from a celebrated Ra named Trakhan, who reigned about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The previous rulers, of whom Shiri Buddoot was the last, were called Shalotia. The present Ra of Gilgit, Ahdad Khan, belongs properly to the ruling family of Nagar, but was installed as representative of the Trakhani on account of his descent from that family through his mother, on the failure for the second time of direct male heirs.

174 The population must have been at one time at least six or seven times as numerous as it is at present. High on the mountain sides up to an elevation of 10,000 feet, wherever the presence of water and the contour of the hill side permit, the ground is terraced and levelled, showing that it was once cultivated; but many generations have passed since its cultivation was abandoned. The period of greatest prosperity was probably under the Shin Ras, whose rule seems to have been peaceable and settled. The whole population, from the

* McCrindle's *Ancient India*.

Ba to his peasant subjects, lived entirely by agriculture. According to tradition, Shah Rukhan's rule extended over Chitral, Yasin, Tangir, Darel, Chilas, Gor, Astor, Hunza, Nagar, and Haramosh, all of which were probably held by tributary princes of the same family. The first decline of prosperity was due apparently to the introduction of Mahomedanism, by which the Shin kingdom was broken up into a number of small independent states, which, from that date, commenced to make periodical warfare one upon another; but the final blow to the prosperity of the country was administered by the establishment of a warlike ruling race in Yasin, three centuries later.

A glance at the map will show that Gilgit is situated in the centre of the most mountainous region of the Himalayas. Nowhere else in the world, probably, is there to be found so great a number of deep valleys and lofty mountains in so small a compass. Within a radius of 65 miles from Gilgit the survey maps show, amidst innumerable smaller peaks, eleven varying from 18,000 to 20,000 feet, seven from 20,000 to 22,000 feet, six from 22,000 to 24,000 feet, and eight from 24,000 to 26,620 feet; while half of the tract thus included still remains to be surveyed. A road to Kashgar and Kinchinjunga may yet be found among the mountains of Kafiristan.

From Gilgit mountain roads radiate into all the surrounding valleys, and it is easy to see how favourable is its position for the establishment of the head-quarters of a confederacy of small states. The lofty mountains around it, though barren and rocky at their bases, are covered with verdure higher up; and everywhere above 7,000 feet are thick fine forests, grassy glades, deep glens, and running streams, of which a view of the mountains from below gives little promise. Here the wild goat (*C. Falconeri*) roams in great numbers almost undisturbed, his chief foes being the snow ounce (*F. Uncia*), and the wild dog (*C. Rutilans*), of which packs are sometimes seen. In winter, when forced down to lower ground by the snow, a few fall victims to village matchlocks, but the number thus slain is few, as the Dards are not keen hunters. Above the forest, where innumerable peaks tower up in their panoply of eternal snow and glacier, ibex (*C. Sibirica*) are found in great numbers. The solitudes which they share with the red bear (*U. Isabellinus*) and the snow cock (*T. Himalayanus*) are rarely disturbed by the hunter's voice. On the lower and more barren hills below the forest are to

[162] consist exclusively of Kafir women being given to Shins and Yeshkuns when through immoral behaviour they cannot procure husbands of their own class. Rulers of Darel station give their daughters born of slaves or concubines to Kafirs, but not those born of lawful wives.

[163] Next to the Kafirs, in order of consideration, come the Shins, who do not form the majority of the population anywhere except in Gor, Chilas, Tangir, the Indus Valley below Sazin, and the upper part of the Gilgit Valley above Punyal, and are not found at all in the higher and less fertile parts, till one gets further up the Indus Valley beyond Haramosh. Although numerically inferior, they have established their language to the exclusion of others wherever they have penetrated, and there can be little doubt that they represent an alien race who at some time established themselves in the country by conquest. [167] Amongst the many dialects of Shina now spoken, that of Gilgit, which was the seat of Shin rule, is still considered the most refined, but it is much mixed with Burushki, and of late with Cashmeri owing to an immigration of Cashmiris which took place about a hundred years ago, at the same time as the formation of the Cashmeri colony in the Hoshe Valley.

[164] Shins give their daughters to Kafirs and Syuds, but cannot marry the daughters of Kafirs or Syuds in return. In the same way they marry Yeshkun women, but do not give their daughters to Yeshkuns in return. In the lower part of the Indus Valley they give daughters to the Nanachas. Owing to this system of mixed marriages they are, as Mr. Drew has pointed out, very far from being a pure race, and it is difficult to fix on any typical personal characteristics. The Shins of the Indus Valley below Sazin are small clean-limbed men, with dark complexion and eyes, and sharp features, of a type not uncommon in North-Western India. Above Sazin and about Gilgit they are of somewhat lighter complexion, but they do not show any marked type of feature.

[165] There is a rare type, which I have only noticed among Shins, which may be characteristic of the race. These are small slight men, with thin sharp features, prominent noses and narrow chins. Mr. Drew also notices this type as prevailing in the side valleys of the Indus near Kondia and Iskardo. I am inclined to think, however, that the true Shin type is only to be found in the Indus Valley below Sazin, and that this small narrow-chinned race are merely a deteriorated type produced by long intermarriage within narrow limits.

Though their traditions as a separate race have long passed away, the Shins still look on themselves as the aristocracy of the country, and claim to be of a more honourable caste than others, without being able to show any foundation for this claim. A Shin considers it a disgrace to have to carry a load, and regards hunting and agriculture as the only honourable pursuits for a man. They are strictly confined to the Indus Valley and its affluents.

The Shins who are found in Baltistan do not, however, arrogate to themselves any superiority over their Tartar neighbours. On the contrary, the position they occupy towards the Tartars is similar to that of the Yeshkuns in Gilgit towards themselves. They are called by the Tartars, contemptuously, "Brokpas," or highlanders, from their cultivating the highest—that is, the least fertile—ground. The Baltis habitually mention this fact when speaking of the Brokpas or Dards of the Iskardo district, but do not try to account for it.

This, together with the difference of estimation in which the Shins are held in Gilgit and Iskardo, gives a valuable clue to changes which have taken place among the different races. It is evident that in Baltistan the Tartars, and not the Brokpas, are the last-comers.

As already mentioned, the part of the Indus Valley from below Gor to the Afghan limits near Ghorband is called Shinkari, and it is in the lower part of this that the purest Shin community is now probably to be found; but the name of Shinkari, which still exists in Pukli, where the population is now entirely Afghan, perhaps indicates that the original home of the Shins was in that valley.

The most remarkable peculiarity of the Shins is their feeling with regard to the cow, to which Mr. Drew has already directed attention. In spite of their conversion to Mahommedanism, the feeling is still maintained in Nagar, Gilgit, Astor, and the Indus Valley above Bunji. In the Indus Valley below Astor the feeling has died out, but in the places mentioned, orthodox Shins will not eat beef, drink cow's milk, or touch a vessel containing it. A sucking calf, or any portion of a dead animal, is especially unclean, so that purification is necessary if even the garments should chance to touch them. It is not uncommon for a Shin to make over his cow and calf to a Yeshkun neighbour, to be restored to him when the calf is weaned. Shins also regard the domestic fowl as unclean, and in districts chiefly inhabited by them not a single fowl is to be seen.

by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nagar, and Punyal, and nearly all the population of Yasin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nagar they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yasin, Woorshik and Boorishe. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nagar, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yasin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

In the colder climate of Hunza and Yasin, the people of this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nagar show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men, with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards. These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nagar was subject to the Mahpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nagar would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race. Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

[illegible] in villages where they have lived side by side for generations.

Living among them, in varying numbers, are Syuds, Kraumeins, Doms, Shoton, and Gurjurs. All of these occupy an inferior position except the Syuds, who relate that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They are treated with the highest respect, and receive in marriage daughters from the ruling families, but without reciprocity, for a Syud's daughter is given only to a Syud. There are none in Hunza, but elsewhere they are scattered through the country in small numbers. There is seldom more than one Syud's house in each village.

The Kraumeins, who are silken and pretty, are most numerous in Darel, and do not exist in Hunza or Nagar. They do not intermarry with any other caste. Their name is probably derived from the Persian *kamin*, "mean," though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "Some Aryans in Tibet," suggests that the name is derived from *kram*, "work."

The Doms, who are musicians, blacksmiths, and leather-workers, are most numerous in Yasin, Nagar, and Chilas, in which latter place they form a sixth of the population.

In Nagar there is a caste called Shoto, which exists nowhere else; they work in leather, and rank below the Doms, who take daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes are of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique. Mr. Drew regards them as akin to the low castes of the Punjab, and accounts for their presence in these countries by suggesting that they are remnants of a pre-Aryan aboriginal race, who represent the earliest inhabitants of these valleys. I am more inclined to think that, like the Shins, they have come from the south to settle in these valleys. It is possible that they accompanied the Shins, or they may have followed them, gradually spreading under the protection of the Shin rule. Their status is only consistent with the existence of the Hindoo religion, which I believe to have been introduced by the Shins, and it is worthy of notice that they are not found in the upper part of the Chitral Valley.

In Gilgit itself there are a great number of Cashmeris, or, as they are called, Kashiroos, whose forefathers settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, about 1760 A.D. They now form the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which forms so distinctive a part of the

character of the ordinary Cashmiri, has suffered little by transplanting. Some are said to have penetrated into Chitral, where they have since become merged in the regular population. Those in Gilgit are weavers and carpenters, and are regarded with some contempt both by Shins and Yashkuns.

Their distinctive castes are Mons, Sheikh, Pirjis, Lon, Sunjar (goldsmiths), Dar, Rawar, Bat, and Tarchan (carpenters); all of which castes are also found in Cashmere. They are all tillers of the soil, and the trades at which they work occasionally, such as weaving, are irrespective of caste, with the exception of the goldsmiths and carpenters. They intermarry without restriction among themselves, except the Tarchan, who give daughters to the other castes, but do not receive from them in return. They occasionally give daughters to Shins and Yashkuns without reciprocity. With the Kramrins and Doms they do not marry at all. In spite of the small estimation in which they are held, they form the most thriving and energetic part of the population, while at the same time they have lost some of the worst characteristics of true Cashmiris.

In the valleys south of Gilgit, the Goojurs pasture their cattle on the high lands, not mixing with the people of the country in any way. In Tangir and Darel they are found in great numbers, and they count their herds by thousands. They attach themselves to no locality, though perhaps for a generation the same men frequent one pasture-ground, building rude hovels and making a poor pretence at cultivating small patches of ground; but a very small excuse seems to be sufficient to drive them, with their herds, in search of fresh pastures. A great number inhabit the upper part of the Dir and Swat Valleys, and a few have found their way into the Gilgit Valley. They all speak the dialect of Punjabi, peculiar to their caste. Like the Syuds, they must rank as a class rather than as a caste.

Vigne, speaking of the existence of caste in Baltistan, remarks that it may perhaps be considered as a proof of the Hindoo origin of the natives of that country. Though the Baltis have undoubtedly a considerable amount of Aryan blood in their veins, they must be classed as a Mongolian race; but the existence of a caste system among them, which will be mentioned further on, must be ascribed to Dard, or more particularly to Shin, influence; for it is to be noted that the caste distinctions above mentioned are only found in

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their entirely Hindoo form where the Shin element exists among the population. The class distinctions existing in Chitral are of a totally different nature, and the whole evidence seems to mark the Shins as having been a Brahminical race, who succeeded in imposing their language, and to a great extent their customs, on races to which they were numerically inferior.

The system of administration which existed under the old Shin rulers is still maintained by the Cashmere Government with slight modifications. The revenues of the Ra were derived as follows: From the land, a tax called "Koodkul" was paid on every crop, in kind, according to the quality of the land, which was regularly and apparently not heavily assessed. A pastoral tax of a sheep or goat, called "Ganoni muri," was paid by each household every alternate year. This might be commuted at the will of the payer for the sum of two shillings yearly. A tax called "Nyooni shuir," of four shillings a year, was paid by each water-mill, which was, however, exempted from payment the first year after construction. For washing gold-dust, in which a considerable number of people in certain villages find employment during the winter, a fixed tax of fifty-five pounds sterling, called "Ra-i-dilki," was paid yearly. In the autumn a grape tax, called "Jachai tom," was levied in kind on every vine according to its size; and when the wine-making began, a certain number of measures of grape juice, called "Rikhoo," were also paid to the Ra. A money tax of sixteen shillings, called "Gurd tolon," was levied on each marriage, for which the bridegroom was liable. Every weaver's house furnished eight yards of cotton cloth to the Ra, which was called "Buyetcho pâtchi." Silk also, which was produced by nearly every household, paid a tax called "Chuchi purtai," which consisted of as many cocoons as the Charboo could grasp in one hand, out of the heap collected by each family. Four villages, in which silk was not produced, paid a commutation of one fat sheep, valued at eight shillings, which was called "Chooshi mâri," per village.

Besides these, a curious tax, called "Cha etté gol," was paid by the villages of Burmess, Khomer, and Naupoor only, which consisted of all the milk and butter produced by one cow from each house in those villages between the Ganoni and Chili festivals,—that is, from the middle of May to the end of October. These three villages also gave the Ra one small kid yearly from each house. This impost was called

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This estimate does not include the tributary tribe of Bushgali Kaffirs, or the subjects of the Yassin ruler, who is independent of Chitral, though the close relationship existing between the two families causes them to act in concert in all important matters. Both rulers pay a tribute of horses, hawks, and hounds to the Maharajah of Cashmere, to whom they acknowledge allegiance. Iron, copper, and orpiment of superior quality are found in Kashkar. Cotton carpets of an inferior kind, which have the peculiarity of being alike on both sides, are made for local use, and Chitral daggers and sword-hilts are in great demand in the neighbouring valleys. Amongst the people of Kashkar, Chitral is constantly pronounced and written Chitrar and Chitlal. This seems to arise from a curious inability[1] to distinguish between the letters *r* and *l*; in this way Koonur becomes Koonul, Punjkorah Punjkolah, the Lowri Pass the Rowli Pass, &c.

The population of Chitral is a curious and intricate ethnological puzzle. The largest section of the population are the Kho, who inhabit the whole of Kashkar Bala, the Ludkho and Arkari Valleys, and the main valley down to Darosh, and have penetrated across the watershed as far as Chashi. They call the country also Kho, dividing it into different sections under the names *Tsurikho* (*Upper*), *Moolkho* (*Middle*), and *Ludkho* (*Great*), and their language Khowar. This is the language given by Dr. Leitner under the name of Arnyia, by which it is known to the Shins of Gilgit, who style the Yassin portion of Kashkar Bala Arinah. In sound it is soft and musical.[2] Unlike the Shins and other cognate tribes hitherto mentioned, the existence of these people in the localities in which we now find them appears to date from so far back as virtually to entitle them to be considered aboriginal. They may have once occupied a wider extent of country, but there is no trace of their having conquered or displaced any previous race of inhabitants. They were undoubtedly the owners of the country until a period not very remote, and they have succeeded in imposing their language on the present ruling class, who style them contemptuously "Fakir Mushkin." They are divided into classes of which a few are Toryié, Shiré, Darkhané, and Shohané. No caste distinctions exist among them.

Above them is a large privileged class, which is divided into clans like the Afghan Khels, and spread all over Kashkar.

[1] The *l* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable in the old Persian.—*Benfrey's Ancient Inscription*, Vol. III. p. 102.

[2] See Appendix H.

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Indus Valley, but their language differs a good deal. The Chitralis always speak of them as a bald race, and the few individuals I have seen had very scanty beards. The splendid flowing locks of the Kho would make them term bald any race less liberally endowed by nature than themselves. They are no doubt the Gebrek of Baber's Memoirs. Their language seems to link them with the Bushgalis on one side, and the tribes at the head of the Swat and Panjkorah Valleys on the other; but further examination may show that they have only borrowed words from their neighbours' languages. Several small valleys on the western side below Birkot are inhabited by Siah Posh of the Bushgali tribe, who retain their own religion and customs, though they have long been subject to Chitral. These broken tribes all belong to the "Fakir Mushkin" class. In Bailam, or, as they style it, Bargam, are a few Afghan families.

The origin of many of these tribes can be at present only a matter of conjecture, but it can hardly be doubted that this mixture of broken fragments could only have been produced by pressure from the south. The frequent occurrence of the names of Shoghoor, Shoogram, and Shogot, seems to point to the prevalence once of Shivaism, but there are no relics of ancient customs still existing to bear out the presumption that it was practised by any of the tribes now to be found in the valley. A tradition exists that the valley about Mastooch was at one time ruled over by Dangariks, who most probably were Shins from the Gilgit Valley, but there is nothing to show what religion was professed by the Kho before they embraced Islam.

As in the valleys to the eastward, manufactures are less esteemed than agriculture. In the valley below Chitral, scattered among the villages, a number of the meaner castes are found, as in the Gilgit and Indus Valleys. They are called *Ustâds*, "artificers," and are divided into *Dertoché*, "carpenters," *Dergoré*, "wooden bowl makers," *Koolalí*, "potters," *Doms*, "musicians," and *Mochis*, "blacksmiths." The two latter only intermarry among themselves, and are looked down upon by all other castes and classes. The other three castes intermarry without restriction among themselves, and occasionally give daughters to the Fakir Mushkins, who are all agriculturists. No Ustâds are found in Kashkar Bala or in Ludkho. The ruling class recognise certain restrictions on intermarriages among themselves. The Shah Sangallié marry amongst themselves, and take daughters from the

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CHAPTER VI.

TORWAL AND BUSHKAR.

IN the Punjkorah and Swat Valleys are two communities, Torwal and Bushkar, whose people can claim a close relationship with the tribes already mentioned, especially with those of the Indus Valley. The more considerable of the two are the Torwalik in the Swat Valley, who occupy the main valley for about 60 miles from Araneh to Chiroleh, and the Chahil Durrah, the habitable part of which is about 20 miles long. Within these limits there are nine fortified villages, the largest of which are Chahil, containing 1,000 families, Branihal, 800 families, and Ramet, 600 families. The whole community numbers upwards of 20,000 souls. In appearance they do not differ from the tribes of the Indus Valley, and there can be little doubt that the Chiliss are an offshoot of the Torwalik, and take their name from Chahil, the principal village of Torwal. I have not seen a sufficient number of the Torwalik to ascertain whether any tradition exists among them as to their having formerly occupied any other locality, and neither tribe seems to have retained any tradition of connection with the other, but the tradition[1] still extant among the Chiliss evidently supplies the correct clue to their former history. The separation of the two portions of the tribe has, however, produced considerable differences in the dialects now spoken.[2]

The large number of the Torwalik, as compared with most of the other Dard tribes, indicates that they must have once occupied some extensive valley like Boneyr, from whence they, like the rest, have been expelled and thrust up into the more mountainous tracts by the aggressive Afghans. By the Afghans they are called Kohistanis, a name given everywhere by Pathans to Mussulmans of Indic descent, living in the Hindoo Koosh Valleys. The never-ceasing encroachment from the south is gradually pushing the Torwalik further north. Their most southern village, Chiroleh, has a mixed population of Afghans and Kohistanis, from which the latter

[1] See page 10.

[2] See Appendix D.

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CHAPTER IX.

PAST AND PRESENT RELIGIONS.

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MR. DREW has shown that the stricter observance of Mahommedan customs in Gilgit dates from a very recent period, and though the tenets of Islam, owing to local circumstances, have taken firmer root in some valleys of Dardistan than in others, there are no positive records or traditions to indicate the nature of the religion which they supplanted. Circumstantial evidence, however, enables some opinion to be formed on the subject, and each religion that has in turn prevailed in these valleys has left some trace of its existence.

The Oxus Valley having been the cradle of the religion of Zoroaster, the valleys south of the Hindoo Koosh are not likely to have escaped its influence. In Wakhan there are many towers and structures which are still ascribed to the worshippers of fire, and the tradition of this worship still lingers in Yassin. The secluded easily defensible valleys of Yassin and Gilgit are so eminently suited to afford shelter from persecution to the followers of a dying faith, that fire-worship probably existed in them long after it had been driven out of neighbouring, more accessible, valleys. In the "Taleni" portion of the Nôs festival, of which mention has already been made, we probably see the last surviving relic of Magian worship in these countries.

Richardson, in his Dissertation, says, speaking of the ancient fire-worshippers—

"In December, on the shortest night of the year, was the anniversary of the great festival of fire, called *Shab Sadah* (شب صادہ), when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom; round which the people entertained themselves all night with choral dances, and various amusements peculiar to the season."

He also says that the festival was instituted to commemorate a popular tradition—

"In the time of King Hushang (about 860 years before the Christian era) a monstrous dragon infesting the country, the king himself attacked him with stones, when one of them falling with prodigious force upon

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771 another, struck fire, set the herbage and surrounding trees in a blaze, 174 and consumed the dragon in the flames."

The resemblance of this legend to the Gilgit legend, which the Taleni festival is said to commemorate, is noteworthy. Under the story of the tyrant Shiri Buddutt devouring his subjects is probably concealed an ancient sun-myth. Long after the original meaning of the celebration had been forgotten, the custom no doubt survived; and advantage may have been taken of the festival to get rid of an unpopular ruler. In the legend of Shiri Buddutt it is represented that his life could not resist fire, and he is still fabled as dwelling in a place surrounded by glaciers, from which he attempts to issue yearly at the time of the winter solstice, but is driven back by the Taleni.

771 174 172 Later, when Buddhism was the prevailing religion on both sides of the Hindoo Koosh, this religion doubtless established itself as strongly in the southern valleys as it did in the lateral valleys of Badakhshan. Scattered through the Gilgit and Astor Valleys are a number of remains of Buddhistic stone altars, similar to those which are so common in Ladakh. The name "Munni," which is still applied to them, sufficiently attests their origin, though the natives attempt to account for them by saying that they have been made for the convenience of people carrying loads to rest their burdens upon. Their size, position, and the labour that has evidently been expended on them, however, forbid the acceptance of the reason assigned. They are sometimes also called "Thalli."

Both in the Sai and Gilgit Valleys there are several remains of Buddhist Chogtens, whose forms can still be distinctly traced. Those in best preservation are about 3 miles from Gilgit, near the village of Nowpoor, where there are four Chogtens close together in line. The remains of a large one also exist in the Chitral Valley, on a conspicuous point near the road not far from the valley of Koosht, and are still spoken of as "the idol." Closer research would no doubt discover many others.

Near the village of Nowpoor,[1] not far from Gilgit, is a large rock-cut figure of Buddha. The angle of the fork of two ravines is formed by an abrupt perpendicular rock several hundred feet high. In the very point of the angle the rock has split, so as to leave a broad smooth surface 50 feet from the ground. On this a deep slot has been cut in

[1] Nowpoor would appear to have been formerly the more important place of the two. Its ancient name was Amsar.

½ [Cf. category 116, plate facing p. 109 -- Analyst]

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4 AV3 Dard AV3

771 the form of a pentagon, within which the figure has been cut
• 174 in intaglio. The face is exactly as represented on well-known
172 figures of Buddha, with ear ornaments and head-dress, thick compressed lips, smooth face, and impassive countenance. The figure is erect, and is about 9 feet high. The upper part, which is in excellent preservation, is well finished, the lower part is not so well executed. The right arm is held across the body with the hand open, palm outwards; the left hand hangs by the side, and holds a staff or some kind of weapon. The whole figure is exposed, but the edge of a robe or some hanging drapery is portrayed, which, with the smooth face, has given rise to the modern belief that it is intended for a female figure. The lines of the pentacle are accurately drawn and deeply cut. On the edge are deep square niches, cut at regular intervals, which may have been used to hold timber supports of a frame to protect the figure from injury. The feet of the figure are upwards of 30 feet from the ground, and it must have been a matter of considerable difficulty to execute the work in such a position.

It is probable, however, that the level of the soil below the figure was formerly higher than it is at present, for there are signs close by of the existence of an old watercourse for purposes of irrigation, part of which appears to have been carried for a considerable distance along the face of the rock in a wooden trough. This watercourse has been rendered useless by the sinking of the water-levels, probably accompanied by a sinking of the level of the adjacent soil; and, this being the case, it appears likely that, at the time at which the figure was cut, no very high platform was necessary to enable the cutters to reach the proper position. The cutting both of the figure and of the sockets, which appear to have been used for the supports of the watercourse, show a knowledge of stone-cutting quite beyond the power of the present inhabitants of the country.

771 Were it not for the difference in size, I should be inclined
174 to regard this as the figure of Buddha mentioned by the Chinese traveller Fah-Hian, who visited India about A.D. 400. According to him the figure was 94 feet high, and the length of one foot 9 feet 4 inches. His route as far as Khoten is traced without difficulty, and To-li, or Tha-li-lo, must certainly be Darel or Gilgit; but the route followed between these two points is less easily identified. General Cunningham has given strong reasons for identifying Kiech-ha with Leh, thus making Fah-Hian's route to have been along the

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course of the Indus from Leh to Darel; but the narrative shows that the great mountain range was not crossed till after leaving Kiech-ha, which must therefore have been on the north side of the mountains. Also it is scarcely possible that the travellers should have journeyed for a month along the bank of Indus, from Leh to Darel, without making mention of the river, and the first mention of it is not made till after passing To-li. Moreover, the route down the Indus Valley from Leh would necessitate frequent crossings and re-crossings of the river, which would scarcely have escaped mention, and is so difficult, even in the present day, as to be only accessible to practised mountaineers, so it is not likely to have ever been used by ordinary travellers. Had Fah Hian passed through Leh on his way to India, he would naturally have continued by the route in present use through Cashmere, which he certainly did not visit. Beal identifies Kiech-ha with Karchoo, which has lately been re-discovered by Shaw; but the elevation of Karchoo is not sufficient to justify the statement that no grain except corn ever ripened there, or to procure for the inhabitants the title of "Men of the snowy mountains." Beal identifies Tsu-ho with Yarkund, while Cunningham, following Klaproth, would identify it with Cogiar. The balance of evidence is certainly in favour of Beal's view. Cogiar has not advantages sufficient ever to have made it so important a place as Tsu-ho seems to have been, and it is situated immediately at the foot of the mountains, which would be entered by the travellers on the first march after leaving the place. But the narrative states that they did not enter the mountains till four days after leaving Tsu-ho, and this would correspond well with the position of Yarkund. The twenty-five days occupied by the travellers on the road between Khoten and Yarkund gives a fair idea of their general rate of march. I should be disposed to identify Kiech-ha either with Sirikol, which in spite of its elevation was certainly an important place in those days, or with Raskum, which, though now deserted, is said to have once been the centre of a flourishing community. Each of these places would answer fairly well to Kiechha. The distances, however, judging by the number of days taken by the travellers, agree best with Sirikol, in which, therefore, I would recognise Kiech-ha. From Yarkund the travellers must have reached Sirikol by the Koosherab route, and the Yu-hwui must have been nomad tribes, answering to the Kirghiz of the present day. From Sirikol Fah-

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771 Hian and his companions must have travelled either through
● 174 Hunza down to Gilgit, and so on to Darel, or, more probably, across the Pamir, which would account for the mention of their route proceeding westward from Sirikol, and into the Gilgit Valley by the Durkot Pass, as suggested by Beal. From the Gilgit Valley they would naturally take the route to Darel up the Kergah Valley, at the mouth of which is the rock figure in question. This would certainly have been their most direct route to the Punjab. Striking the Indus (Sin-to) at the mouth of the Darel Valley, they must have followed the course of the river for several days, and reached Swat (Su-ho-to) by one of the lateral routes, such as that by Ghorbund.

Whether or not this be the actual figure mentioned by Fah-Hian, his account enables the date of the introduction of Buddhism into these valleys to be approximately fixed at about 150 B. C., or three hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha.

173 The account now given of the figure is, that in ancient times a *Deonee*, or female demon who preyed on men, lived in the ravine, from which she sallied forth to seize passers-by; her custom being to devour only half of her prey, that is, if she seized two men, she devoured one and left the other; if she seized one, she only ate half of her victim. One day a holy man arrived who undertook to free the country of the demon. The Deonee sallied out as usual to seize him, but by the power of the holy man was turned into stone, and fixed to the rock. Being soon after desirous of leaving the country, the holy man told the people that, to ensure the continuance of the spell by which the demon had been rendered powerless, it was necessary that at his death he should be buried at the foot of the rock, and stringently charged them to be careful to bring back his body for the purpose from whatever place in which he might chance to die.

The people of Gilgit, according to the account of their descendants, took a very practical view of the case. They said that they could not be at the trouble of searching for, and bringing back, his body from any distant place he might chance to die in, with the risk of the demon being restored to life in case of failure, so they chopped off his head there and then, and buried him as directed. At the foot of the rock is a tomb which is pointed out as that of the unlucky saint.

771 174 Buddhism was no doubt the religion of the country at the time of the Shin invasion. There seem, however, to be good grounds for supposing that the religion of the Shins was of the Brahminical type.

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000 good grounds for supposing that the religion of the Shins was of the Brahminical type.

783 Mention has already been made of the curious fact of the cow being esteemed unclean. 184 Mr. Shaw has shown how the feeling among the Shins of Dah Hanu is one of aver- 174 sion, and not of reverence, and Mr. Drew remarks that anything more opposed to modern Hindooism cannot be imagined. But the most orthodox Brahmin would consider himself defiled by touching leather, or any part of a dead cow, so that there does not appear to be anything in the present practice directly opposed to modern Hindooism, but rather a perverted feeling that has grown out of it.

This peculiarity of the ruling race led to the appellation of Dangariké,[1] *i. e.*, "cow-people," being conferred on them by their neighbours, who apply the term to all the Shina-speaking people. Though this can hardly be cited as a proof in itself of the Hindoo origin of the Shins, I think that, when considered in connection with other points, it forms a strong argument. The feeling of the Shins with regard to the domestic fowl is shared with them by Hindoos all over India.

This feeling regarding the cow and domestic fowls is not shared by any other tribe in the Hindoo Koosh, except by a small one in Chitral, to whom the name of Dangariké is also applied by their neighbours, and by the Kalash Kaffirs, who dwell close to them. I have not been able to obtain the language of the Chitral Dangariké, but there seems to be no reason to suppose that they have any connection with the Shins of Gilgit.

764 Till a very recent period burning the dead was practised, the burning places being still called Jain, which would appear to be identical with Châni, the name by which burning places are called in some parts of the Punjab. The ashes were carefully collected and buried in rude wooden boxes, sometimes carved out of a solid block, or in round earthen jars. I have dug up several of both kinds. The bones are neatly packed in the boxes, which have previously been lined with birch bark. In one or two I found pieces of check cotton cloths, of a kind not now known in the country, with pieces of brass chains and other ornaments. Women's urns are readily distinguished by a number of wooden spindle whorls, mixed with the bones.

[197] [1] Cunningham met with the term in Baltistan, and speaks of Gilgit being inhabited by Dangariks, and of the Dangri language, as if it was the name of a tribe. The now well-known term of Dard has no doubt come to be applied in the same manner.

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sacrificed beside the stone, which is sprinkled with blood, and in other places the practice has only lately been discontinued. Though the religion introduced by the Shins would appear to have been of a Brahminical type, it must have contained also a considerable amount of demon worship, as is shown by Mr. Shaw in his account of the Hanu Dards.

I have been told that when the Cashmere troops first occupied Gilgit, there was in the fort a slab of stone about 3 feet long, bearing a Sanscrit inscription. My informant told me that he had made out the words, "Ishwar ling murti," or, "the Lingum incarnation of Shiva," but that the rest of the inscription was illegible. In 1871 the fort was destroyed by an earthquake which exploded the powder magazine and reduced the whole to ruins. The present fort was erected on the same site, and the stone was doubtless built into the foundations. The names of many of the rulers and of a number of places, not only in the Indus and Gilgit Valleys, but also in the Chitral Valley, point to a Brahminical origin. Amongst the names of places may be mentioned *Seo* (Siva, *or* Mahadeo), *Shogram* (Siva's village), *Shogoor* (Siva's priest), and *Swami*. In the Hunza and Nager genealogies we find the names of *Lullithum* (the beautiful Thum), *Hurrithum*,[1] and *Bookhatthum*,[2] and one of the last independent Ras of Gilgit, Suleiman Khan, is best known by the name of *Gowrithum*.[3]

With all this evidence it can scarcely be doubted that some form of Brahminism was introduced by the Shins into the Gilgit Valley, and, to a greater or less degree, wherever their rule extended. In valleys in which they were out-numbered by the former inhabitants, the result was, doubtless, a mixture of Buddhism and Hindooism, grafted on a form of demon-worship already existing in the country. The religious practices of the Hanu Dards described by Mr. Shaw, probably approach most nearly to those which formerly existed in Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys, when under Shin rule.

The Shins seem to have introduced, along with their form of Hindooism, a piece of tree-worship, which has been already described. Though no longer an object of public worship, supplications are still addressed to the *Chili*, especially by women desirous of children, by burning its branches, and it is still regarded as possessing special powers of puri-

[1] From Huri, a name for Mahadeo.

[2] Probably a corruption of *Mookhatthum*, referring to *Mookhat* "the final transmigration."

[3] From Gowri, the wife of Mahadeo.

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D 771 174 778 fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 171 779 B 171 178 The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171 The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173 The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkund*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—*Sri Buddha Datta*

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193 197 The grammar of the Shina[1] language may be taken as fairly typical of that of the languages spoken by the broken tribes in the Indus, Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys. Though differing slightly among themselves, these all grade into one another, and into Punjabi, and a closer examination will probably show that they have some affinity with Cashmeri. As in Punjabi and Hindustani, distinctions of gender are preserved in nouns and verbs, and the use of the cerebral *n* and the soft *j* is very common. In Shina, Torwalik, and Bushkarik[2] the passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to go," as in Punjabi and Hindustani.

The verbs of the two latter languages of the Swat Valley differ from those of Shina in having only one masculine and one feminine form in the singular, and a different single form for the plural, while the Gowro and Chiliss[3] differ in having the same form both in the singular and plural.

B 193 197 The most singular and interesting language of all is the Boorishki,[4] spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin. It stands by itself and cannot be classed with any other Dard language. The foundation of this language has been identified as of Turanian origin; but, as far as I am able to judge, it has little or no claim to be classed as a Toork language, and it has forms which are only found among the most primitive races. Besides this, it has at some period borrowed largely from some Aryan language, many of the gramatical forms of which it has adopted. While preserving distinctions of gender, both in verbs and nouns, it uses them in a totally different manner from any of the Dard languages. The use of the celebral *n* is rare, and the verbs have no passive voice, though in the active voice they have the same tenses as exist in Khowar, Shina, and other Dard languages.

D 101 131 ● 174 Under the convenient term of Dardistan have been included the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab and the Hindoo Koosh, which are inhabited by a number of tribes mostly of Aryan origin. The greater part of these tribes appear to have been gradually crowded up into the less accessible and desirable localities, by external pressure. The circumstances which have caused them to quit their former homes have not, apparently, been simultaneous, or even of the same nature in all cases.

D 101 The name "Dard" is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance, the term is applied by one tribe to some of

[1] Appendix B. [2] Appendices D & E. [3] Appendices F and C. [4] Appendix A.

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their neighbours.[1] Though the Dards are frequently mentioned by ancient writers, it is difficult now to identify with certainty the exact locality of the tribes referred to under that name. In the Vishnu Purana they are thus mentioned among other tribes, "also Sudras, Abhiras, Daradas, Kasmiras, with Pattis, Khasiras, Antacharas, or borderers, Pahnaras, and dwellers in mountain caves." Some of these names evidently refer to castes rather than to ethnological divisions. Arrian speaks of "the Derdai, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern borders;" but this would hardly apply to tribes inhabiting the present limits of Dardistan. Pliny's description, "Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardœ," might apply to tribes dwelling in many parts of the Indus Valley, as far eastward as the Thok Jalung gold-fields in Long. 81.° Ptolemy also speaks of the race, as living at the sources of the Indus: "Sub fontibus vero Indi Daradræ, et horum montana supereminent." Thus it is evident that the tribes referred to under the name of "Dard" must formerly have stretched very much further to the eastward than those now so called. I think the name must have been given, in a general way, to all mountain tribes living in the Indus Valley, by the less warlike people of the plains and the effeminate Cashmeris, and that the legend grew up concerning them, not an uncommon one in wild countries, that they were descended from wild beasts. "Why do you call me Dardoo?" is the question most commonly asked by the Gilgitis who visit Cashmere. "Because your grandfather was a bear," is the not infrequent answer. Thus from the Persian دد *dud*, "a beast of prey," or from درندہ *darenda*, "fierce," the name Dard may have come to be used as an ethnological term in the same way as *dahyu*, "a robber," gave its name to Dahistan and the Dahœ tribe, as shown by General Cunningham,[2] and as Kaffir, Cossack, and Kirghiz are now applied to different Asiatic Tribes. The term Dard is not known in Chitral.

Mr. Shaw, in treating of the Ghalchah languages, is inclined to look upon the tribes north and south of the Hindoo Koosh as forming one group, whose linguistic differences are due to the interposition of the great mountain barrier, but whose present position is the same as it always has been since the first separation. Closer examination will, I believe, show that the Hindoo Koosh tribes are divisible into several well-defined groups. The difference between the Ghalchahs

[1] See page 12.

[2] Archæological Report, Vol. II, pages 47-48.

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101 and the tribes to whom the name of Dard has more especially
174 been applied cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the intervention of a mountain range, which has been crossed by emigrants on a smaller scale more than once since the first wave of Aryan migration swept southwards, while the differences existing between the Dardistan tribes themselves is, in some cases, greater still.

000 In the first group I would place the Sirikolis, Wakhis, Shighnis, the people of Munjan, and the upper part of the Ludkho Valley, and the Wooditsai, or people of Sanglich and Ishkashim. The people of Hissar, Darwaz, and Karategin, north of the Oxus, may probably claim close relationship with this group, though they now speak Persian or Toorki, and, in some places, have received a considerable infusion of Usbeg blood. The process of the disappearance of a language seems to be that the tribe first becomes bi-lingual, as is the case at present in Shighnan, Wakhan, and Sirikol, where almost every man speaks Persian in addition to his native language, and in the Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys, where many of the Dard tribes speak Pushtoo in addition to their own dialects. In the course of time, increased intercourse with the outer world causes the more widely-spread of the two languages to be preferred, and finally altogether adopted, to the exclusion of the native tongue, which falls into disuse. Such a process must be accelerated by the absence of writing.

The people of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, in the valley of the Yarkund River, probably also belong to this group, and remnants of other tribes belonging to it may possibly still exist in the Kokcha and other valleys to the westward.

101 In the second group I would class the Kho of Chitral and the Siah-Posh tribes; further research will perhaps show that the tribes of the Nijrao, Panjsher, and Ghorbund Valleys in Afghanistan also belong to this group.

In the third group I would class the Shins, the Gowro, Chiliss, and other broken tribes of the Indus Valley, the Bushkarik and Torwalik of the Swat and Punjkorah Valleys, and the broken tribes of the Kooner Valley between Chitral and Kooner. Sufficient is not known of the Maiyon tribe of Kandia, Doobeyr, and Seo to determine with certainty whether they belong to this group, but it is probable that they do.

197 One point which is worthy of note in regard to the languages of these three groups is, that while those spoken

1 [Of Hindu Koosh tribes -- Analyst]

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by the Ghalchah tribes, that is, those belonging to the first group, appear to be sprung from ancient Persian (Zend), those of the third group show greater affinity with the Sanscrit. But Zend and Sanscrit being sister languages,[1] a relationship is shown to exist between the two groups. The Khowar language, as has already been mentioned, shows affinities with those of both groups, and will be found, I believe, to constitute an intermediate link between the two. D 197

The Yeshkuns, or Boorish, of Hunza, Nager, &c., must be classed separately from all the three groups, though they have now, perhaps, nearly as much Aryan as Turanian blood in their veins. B 144

Conjecture is permissible as to the events which brought these tribes into their present localities, although the actual facts must remain unknown. Some idea also may be formed as to the order in which these events happened, but anything approaching to exact chronology is utterly unattainable. B 174

It is generally agreed that Badakhshan and the upper part of the Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southwards was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire for conquest. As they came to occupy localities of greater fertility in a more genial climate, their number would naturally increase more rapidly. Warlike expeditions on a large scale would become possible, and each step in advance would be taken with greater confidence. In the tribes of the first, or Ghalchah, group may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in latter times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found. In some instances, as in the Ludkho Valley, they crossed the great range and settled on the south side of it at a comparatively recent date. 000

The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated southwards at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied by the emigrants, leaving the more energetic to push on further south. In the Kho and the Siah-Posh, I would recognise the descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Koosh and exterminating or driving before them the aboriginal inhabitants, remained in occupation of the hill country down to an elevation of about 2,500 D 174

[1] Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. II, page 266.

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174 feet, and probably spread along the hills for a considerable distance to the eastward.

In the tribes of the third group I would recognise the descendants of those who settled in the fertile valleys among the lower hills. In the course of generations considerable differences would naturally arise between the three groups, living under different conditions, and acted on by different circumstances, and in time all community of feeling would disappear. The first great change to occur must have been the intrusion of the Boorish. I believe that in them we see the descendants of the Yuechi, who conquered Bactria about 120 B.C. In the term Yeshkun, applied to them by their neighbours, the old name perhaps survives, and the name *Boorish*, by which they still call themselves, is perhaps traceable in "Pooroosha," the ancient name of Peshawur, which was the seat of the Indo-Scythic kingdom founded by the son of Kitolo, of the Little Yuechi tribe, who conquered Gandhara and Ariana in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. They probably once occupied the Shigar Valley, and all the affluents of the Indus, together with the Indus Valley itself, down to about Jalkot. In the process of occupation of this country, they must have subdued the Aryan (Siah Posh) inhabitants, whose women were probably not less sought after for their beauty then than at the present day, and in this way, and by absorbing the tribes already occupying the ground, they gained a sufficient infusion of Aryan blood to alter their type of feature and their general characteristics. It is no doubt to them that Abu Rihan, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh century, refers in his description of the course of the Indus—

"In two days' journey you arrive at another part of Turkestan, where the Bhotyas and Dyan dwell. Their king is called Bhot Shah, and their cities are Gilgit, Asurah (Hasora or Astor), Salsas (Chilas), and their language is Turki. The inhabitants of Cashmere suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations."

In another place he styles them:

"The Bhotyawari Turks, from whose encroachments the Cashmerians suffer great distress."[1]

The next event of importance in the shifting of tribes was probably the movement of the Shins northward, which may have happened about the time of, and was possibly occasioned by, the irruption of the Mahommedans into India; but I should be inclined to assign an earlier date to it. It is to be

[1] Elliot's Ancient Historians of India.

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noted that the northward impulse appears to have been given to them under somewhat different conditions, and at a considerably earlier period than it was imparted to cognate tribes in other valleys. That their religion was a form of Hindooism, and not of Buddhism, I think there can be little doubt. The preservation of a caste system, and their feeling for the cow, which has procured them a distinctive name among their neighbours, point to this conclusion, while no tradition or reverence survives for the Buddhistic remains still to be found in their country. Leaving their home in Pukli they must have pressed up the Indus Valley, founding a number of small principalities, the most important of which were Gilgit and Baltistan, and extended almost as far as Leh. The rock-carved Hindoo idols still to be met with in Western Ladakh, some of which show the Brahminical thread, were no doubt their work. The conquerors naturally settled in the most fertile parts where the climate was least severe, forcing the original occupants to take refuge in the wilder, colder, and more mountainous districts, where some of them were perhaps enabled to preserve a semi-independence. As time elapsed, in the parts where both races continued to live side by side, the language of the conquerors would be imposed on the conquered. The strict caste habits of the Shins would, however, prevent a thorough blending of the two races, so that, long after their relative positions of conquerors and conquered were lost sight of, a rigid line of separation was maintained between them. Had the Shins come into the country by mere immigration, without conquest, they could hardly have imposed their language on, and assumed a position of superiority over, a people who out-numbered them.

B 174

Now, if things had happened as I have suggested, we should naturally search in the difficult fastnesses of Hunza for the original race in its greatest purity, and that is what is actually found. In Nager also, a country not quite so impregnable as Hunza, but sufficiently so to make it difficult of conquest, the population is entirely Boorish. At the villages of Myoon and Hini, or Hindi, in Hunza, a few Shins are found. Below Hini on both sides of the valley they form an increasing proportion of the population as Gilgit is approached. Below Myoon the Boorish language is not spoken. At Chaprot, however, there are plenty of Shins, and the nature of the ground is such that the possession of Chaprot secures the command of the upper valley. It is, therefore, allowable to suppose that much the same state of

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things existed in the days of the Shin rule as now, that is, that while Hunza was nominally obedient to Gilgit, there was little intercourse between the two states.

Turning westward to Yassin, we again find the Boorish, or Woorshik, forming the population of the upper valley in which the Boorish language is spoken. Here, again, the language boundary nearly corresponds with the present political boundary, and here again, as on the Hunza side, physical difficulties form a natural barrier between the upper and lower valley, though the Shins have extended along the main valley west of its junction with the Woorshigoom Valley. Below Gahkuch, and as far as the Indus, the Shins are found in increasing numbers, though still in the minority. The language, however, is Shina. As the table already given[1] has shown, the proportion of Yeshkuns to other races decreases steadily the further south one goes, and the Shins preponderate in the more fertile valleys till the Pathan population is reached, the single exception to this rule being the community of Palus. Now, how else, I would ask, except by this theory of conquest, is it possible to account for this wedge of a strange language driven in between countries like Yassin and Hunza divided from each other by lofty mountains, which stops short at the natural frontiers?

The next event must have been the movement of the Tartars from the eastward along the Indus Valley. The period of the establishment of their power in Iskardo is perhaps marked by the appearance of the name Ghotachoh in the Makpon genealogy. There was, no doubt, at the time a Yeshkun population living mixed with the Shins, and owing to the absence of caste prejudices, they would be the first to be absorbed by intermarriage with the conquerors. In the people of Dah-Hanu, we see the only remaining relics of the former Shin inhabitants of Baltistan, and here again the preservation of their languages and themselves as a separate community appears to be due to the isolation caused by the physical difficulties of the spot which they inhabit.

Mr. Shaw, describing the localities, says:—

"In a wild gorge, through which the narrow Indus rushes, and where the grand masses of granite seemingly piled in confusion on both banks scarcely leave room for the passage of the river, and conceal the mountains behind them, my camp was pitched. Close by, the Hanu ravine, which in its upper part expands into a wide inhabited valley, escapes through a rocky chasm into the Indus. My next day's march led through similar scenery, the path now rising up the side of

See page 35.

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• 174 the cliff, supported on frail-looking scaffoldings of tree trunks, resting on projecting rocks or on wooden trestles, now plunging precipitously down to the river side, where a stone could be thrown to strike the opposite cliff across the Indus. The village of Darchik, likewise, is cut off from
B the lower course of the valley by a vertical cliff, the escarpment of the
174 plateau on which it stands. There are only two ways of approach—one high up and away from the river, is guarded by a fortified communal dwelling; the other, near the river, consists of a rugged narrow staircase, constructed in the face of the cliff and closed by a gateway at the top."

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174 In each case it is apparent how much concern the physical conformation of the country has with the preservation of ethnological divisions.

The movement of the smaller tribes was no doubt due to the increasing pressure of the Afghans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gradually pushing before them a less warlike people who lacked cohesion. The Gawaré of the Indus Valley, and the Gubbers of the Kooner Valley about Narisat, must be looked upon as separated branches of one tribe, and are, no doubt, the Gourœi of ancient geographers, whose former abode was in the Punjkorah Valley, if that river has been correctly identified with the Garæus of the ancients. Their name has certainly nothing to do with fire-worship, for in the Kooner Valley it is only used among themselves, and not by their neighbours of Chitral, who call them Narisatis. The Torwalik of the Swat Kohistan, and the Chiliss of the Indus Valley, apparently were also formerly one tribe, and according to the Chiliss tradition came from Boneyr.

The Kho would seem to have once spread over a much greater extent of country than they now occupy. Their name appears in the ancient Khophen (the Cabul River), the Choaspes (the Kooner River), the Choes (the combined Swat and Punjkorah Rivers), and in the name of the Comedæ mountains, which must have been those at the head of the Swat Valley. They were, no doubt, the Khasiras of the Vishnu Purana, and perhaps the Cosyri of Pliny; and in the name of And-Kho, 350 miles to the westward, we may perhaps see traces of them.

The number and diversity of the dialects spoken among the Siah Posh points to their having occupied a more extended area, from which they have been dislodged and driven into their present narrow limits, and the conversion of the surrounding tribes, first to Buddhism and later to Mahommedanism, has isolated them from their neighbours. But while their enmity with their Afghan neighbours to the west is deadly and

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174 unceasing, their relations with their eastern neighbours admit of friendly intercourse in spite of occasional raids.

181 It is impossible to view the so-called Dards closely without recognising that they are a decadent race. From the south and west the Pathan, from the east the Tartar, and in a 161 less degree the Cashmeri, and from the north the Tajik, are steadily pressing upon and supplanting them. In the Swat, Punjkorah, and Indus Valleys their attitude is one of passive resistance, which always yields when the pressure reaches a certain point. Their want of energy and adaptability, their unwillingness to employ themselves except in agriculture, or to strike out new modes of life, their slow numerical increases, and their want of cohesion among themselves, seem to show that they are doomed to be absorbed by more vigorous races. Men of other races settle among them and grow rich and numerous, while the owners of the soil remain contented with the same poverty that satisfied their forefathers, unmoved by the contrast presented between their own state and the increasing prosperity of those who settle among them. In the Neemchas of the Indus Valley, we may witness the commencement of the process by which all the Dards as a race are destined in time to disappear.

FINIS.

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197 In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type
194 No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rohshe is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in R. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 288.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Turkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 194 *The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Sangola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanised only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pho-spunships*. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although nowa-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 194 614 (2) The *pho-spunships*. *Pho-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pho-spunship* have to burn the dead in their own *pho-spunship*. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the same relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pho-spunship* of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pho-spunships* of Khalatse are the following:

(a) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolpa, rGyantharpa, Skarolpa, Salcpa, Gongmarpa, bKrashis lhunphalpa.

(b) Pakmarpa: It comprises the following nine families: Saldpa, sNarpa, Skandi-pa, rKangdongpa, Grong dpenpa, Drugshampa, Grambumarpa, Rynlapa, rKyallapa.

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(c) **Mi dpongs**: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kalmopa. (The Tinghaiopa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kalmopa family.)

(d) **Rab blonpa**: It comprises the following three families: bKol rnams phalpa, Bragmopa, Skambopa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunsbiy*: Mon, Bhotapa and Sterapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakropa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. *Pakro* is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 31 families which are members of *pha-spunsbiys*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dpongs means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunsbiys* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bhotia population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyani di sha nomo hla shrani
Shrani bi sha nomo hla shrani
Shrani bi sha nomo hla shrani

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངེ་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྷའི།
ངེ་ཐུབ་པོ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྷའི།
ངེ་ཐུབ་ཀྱིས་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྷའི།།

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The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyasi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *sha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' [illegible] in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *si* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

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to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spunships*. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

T 194

Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

departure. These mattresses placed on the ground, with our own bedding on top, provided comfortable and warm beds for the cold nights of early spring. And what pictures the words early spring conjure up in this part of the world. The snow is still low on the great mountains all around, but the mid-day sun is already hot, and the sky is an azure blue, flecked with white fleecy clouds.

Riding along the bare hillsides with the rivers hardly yet beginning to rise, their sources still icebound, round some corner suddenly comes into view a little gem of a village. The leaves are not yet in bud, but the apricot trees are in blossom, a veritable pink and white fairyland. At the approach is generally a picturesque *chorten*-topped gateway, often flanked with gay blossoming trees, and all about the village the little newly-melted rills with early green peeping out from the banks add their joyousness to the whole scene, set in a background of blue sky and snow-covered hill with distant white peaks peeping over. Sometimes we spent the night on a roof, partially covered or walled-round in places, sometimes a room was given us, and once even the portico of the village temple, where all night long a gay goddess painted on the wall never ceased to pluck at her stringed instrument as we slept at her feet, while at dusk our own feet were stepped over by a young attendant who went in to trim the temple lamps.

After a week of trekking we turned up a side valley which leads to one of the villages, whose inhabitants are exclusively Brogpas; but one also finds some of these people living scattered about in the ordinary hamlets of Ladak. On the road from Srinagar to Leh, Brogpas are met with in Dras. Here they are all Mohammedan, whilst in the village of Hanu the predominating religion is Buddhist. They are said to have originated from Gilgit, where they no doubt played the national game of polo and later introduced it to Ladak, in which a good many villages now have their own polo grounds.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1928 AJ4 W. Tibetans
Dard AVS

174 They must have been quite a brave people at one time and they still love to recount the deeds done by their forbears ; in [486] fact Dr. Francke says there are certain times when they like to forget that they are Ladakis, only remembering their Dardish descent. At such times they tell how siege was laid to one of their castles, food ran out, and it became a question of surrendering to the enemy or dying. Like brave men they decided on the latter. They all gathered in the large hall, and the oldest man was given the privilege of pushing away the stone on which stood the main pillar which supported the roof. Thus these courageous men passed into the Walhalla 174 of the Dards. Or they tell how a Ladaki king wished to 466 make his Dardish subjects do their share of forced labour, to which they objected. They therefore chose one of their old men to inform the king, that they never would be slaves, not even of a king. The old man received the reply that he himself would be the first who would be forced to work, but as he absolutely refused, they immured him. However his fellow countrymen were equally obstinate; so no forced labour could be extracted from any of them.

576 Now we meet our first representative of this race, who has come to welcome us from the village of Hanu. How quaint his greeting is ! He takes off his hat and twirls it round one of his fingers, reminding us rather of an English hip-hip-hurrah. 291 Of course his hat differs from any hat worn by anybody else in Ladak, where the hat is of great diagnostic value. It is not unlike the hat of the Ladaki, but the part which is turned up is not lined with lambskin, and is continuous all the way round. Those worn by the ladies are different again, the upper half being turned over somewhat like a billycock hat ; the side turned over and uppermost is usually a veritable needle-case with rows of needles stuck into it. We asked them why they carried all these in their hats, to which they replied that each needle had been given by and represented a friend. The popular Brogpa woman should therefore not

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

795 origin from the Arabic *Maula*, God, they thus calling themselves "the Godly." In matters of prayer and fasting they follow the Sunī ways, but in creed (as regards the proper succession of Muhammad's successors to the Khalīfat) they are Shīas.

564 The Molāīs and Shīas will drink wine, the Sunīs will not. Of the different castes it would seem that the people of each may belong to any of the three religious sects; the religious differences do not depend on the caste, but are more geographical; this is illustrated by the table given in Chapter XX.

BUDDHIST DĀRDS.

779 I have now to record some facts as to an outlying portion of
174 the Dārd race, which are of peculiar interest. In that narrow part of the Indus Valley which was described under the heading of "Central Ladākh" (Chapter XIII.), are some villages inhabited by Dārds who follow the Buddhist faith; who, though remnants left by a wave of immigration from the direction of Gilgit, have so far amalgamated with the Bhots that they obey the Lāmās as spiritual leaders.

Muhammadan Dārds, whose locality is denoted on the map either as outlying or outstretching portions of the main area occupied by the Dārd race, reach up close to these Buddhist Dārds, but the villages of each are distinct. The following places —villages and hamlets—are inhabited by the Buddhist Dārds: Grugurdo, Sanācha, Urdus, Darchik, Garkon, Dāh, Phindūr, Baldes, Hanū, Lower and Upper.

That they did come from the direction of Gilgit they have a tradition, and many circumstances of language and manners show that in spite of their being Buddhists in religion they are one in origin with those Dārds we have been describing. But I think they belong to an earlier immigration; probably a small number reached their present seat and settled there, separated from the main mass of their tribe-brethren, at a time before the Dārds were converted to Muhammadanism, so that the transition from their ancient faith to Buddhism was not difficult. At that time the neighbouring Baltīs also may still have been Buddhists. Later,

[Cf. category 116, End Map I -- Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

when the Dārds had become Muhammadan, they spread again in this direction, and the newer comers have joined on with, or become next-door neighbours to, the earlier migrants.

The Race Map shows the area of these Buddhist Dārds under the same colour as all the rest of that race, while the Faith Map shows it under the same colour as the Ladākhīs who are Buddhists. The Language Map shows a division of even this small area, for while in the greater number of villages above enumerated a truly Dārd language is spoken, in the Hanū side-valley the people have lost their original language, and speak only the Tibetan Ladākhī; in the Language Map, therefore, that valley is coloured with the rest of the country where the Tibetan tongue is spoken, while the other villages are classed as Dārd-speaking.[2]

These Buddhist Dārds have little or no trace of Tibetan in their faces; the two races have not mixed, or not much mixed; their face is Aryan, but not a fine stamp of Aryan; their noses are small, though often slightly hooked, their chin narrow.* In stature they are taller than the average Ladākhī, but they are not such fine men as the Dārds of Drās, Astor, or Gilgit. They wear the pigtail as the Ladākhīs do, and their dress is the same as theirs, including the drooping cap figured at p. 240.

They are a dreadfully dirty people, far more so than any other tribe I have ever met with; their faces are blotched with black dirt, which they never think of removing. As a means of purifying, instead of washing, they burn twigs of pencil-cedar, and let the smoke and the scent from it come over them and inside their clothes; they do this before eating, not perhaps generally but on feast-days, and at other times when they think purification to be necessary. Their women, who are not shy of being seen, surpass even the men in dirtiness, and altogether are the most miserable of objects.

I could not hear that there was any distinction of castes among them[1]; indeed what I heard made me think there was not. One

* Among the Muhammadan Dārds also, as in the upper part of the Hārpo Valley in Rondū, I have found this narrow-chinned, low-Aryan, form of face. It may after all be due to an admixture of breed, in this case with the Baltīs.

[1] [i.e. the Buddhist Dards -- ANALYST]
[2] [i.e. category 116, End Maps III-I -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV3

D 167 ,5 B 563 175 D 171 101

At Drās the Dārds (who here are Sunīs) form more than half the community, the others being Baltīs, who are Shīas.

Wherever the Dārds are in contact with Baltīs or with Bhots, these others call them (whether they be Muhammadan or Buddhist Dārds) *Brokpā* or *Blokpā*. The word Brok or Blok means in Tibetan a high pasture-ground, and Brokpā or Blokpā must mean a "highlander." The origin of this appellation for the Dārds I take to be this, that they first came in contact with the Baltīs by coming over the Passes and settling in the higher parts of the valleys, parts that perhaps had been left unoccupied.

D 563 582

There is a colony of Kashmīrī among the Dārds at Gilgit, or rather there is an infusion of Kashmīrī blood in a certain section of the Gilgit people; many generations back there must have been a settlement of Kashmīrīs, who took unto themselves Gilgitī wives. The descendants have quite lost the language and the ways of Kashmir, and to a stranger's eye they are quite Gilgitī, but the Dārds themselves distinguish, and, as to intermarrying, keep separate from them.

D 174 B 174 142

In one or two higher valleys of Baltistān I have noticed a difference in the people, as compared with the ordinary Baltī, which may perhaps be due to some admixture of Dārd blood, although the fact is not noticed or known by the people themselves. Thus, at Pakora in Brāldū the men were much better looking than the ordinary Baltīs; they had well-shaped features, and had a manly bearing; I noted this at a time when I knew less about the Dārds than afterwards; now, it seems to me likely that some of that race came over the difficult Passes from Nagar and made a settlement among the Baltīs. Again, in the Turmik Valley, many villagers have a high and broad forehead, and hooked nose, though they call themselves Baltī; I have little doubt that here too is Dārd blood, the immigrating Dārds having become absorbed into the community of Baltīs, but still making a mark. These two cases I have not represented on the Race Map, not thinking them distinct enough for that; the area of Turmik and of Brāldū is coloured for Baltī alone.

There is one other peculiarity belonging to a class, which may

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1: Dasu G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV2

B 174 565 582 D 174

There is one other peculiarity belonging to a class, which may be an ethnological variation due to a strain of the Dārd. In general the class of Rajas and the class of Wazīrs in Baltistān are not only better looking than the ordinary Baltī, but have certain differences of cast of face. The Rajas are of several different stems, more or less connected by marriage; it is not uncommon to see them with a light complexion and light eyes and a hooked nose, in all these respects differing much from their Baltī subjects. The Wazīr class intermarry among themselves, and also take girls from among the ordinary Baltīs for their wives; hence they have a larger proportion of Baltī blood than their masters.

Cunningham remarks that the earlier Rajas of Shigar had the title of Tham, which, it seems, is the word for king in the Hunza language*; now whatever may be the affinities of the Hunza language there seems no doubt that the Hunza people are Dārds. All these facts go to support the view that Dārd blood is shared by the Baltī rulers. It would seem, indeed, probable that at different times the Dārds had given rulers to the Baltīs and the Baltīs to the Dārds, for, as Cunningham states, the chiefs of Astor are called by the Tibetan title of Makpon.

* By my own information, Āmichā is the name of the present caste of Shigar Rajas, or else the title they are called by; it is a word of the origin of which I know nothing.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A363
Dard AV3

being Afghans who have migrated over the frontier—"All are Mohammedans except the tribes of Kafistan."

Those Aryan features, those blue eyes, that light complexion, where does it come from? Not a few of the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of the chiefs who once ruled in those parts, surprisingly claim to be descended from one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, if not from the Emperor himself. There is no record in history of his having visited those parts, but the people of Gilgit maintain that he came as close as the Tashkurgan and the Killik Pass, and then sent an expedition down through Hunza to Gilgit. It is known that Alexander did visit Dir, and it is believed that the expedition to Gilgit was to move on to Chitral and then join the main army at Dir.

I have never seen it hinted at in any book, but I dare to suggest that these Aryan features, blue eyes and the occasional tinge of gold in the hair found among those men of Gilgit—and also those of Kashmir—might have come about by their owners having been descended from the prisoners, deserters, or even soldiers who had become lost from the forces of Alexander. It is known that until not long ago on the North-West Frontier of India, a captured European who was fortunate enough to be the possessor of red hair was treated with more respect than his fellows, who, if not ransomed, suffered a ghastly, unmanly death. Although not released, he like the others, was handed over to the women, but remained alive to "husband" the widows, so that they might breed red-haired sons. Natural red hair is considered among some of the tribes to be a sign that the owner is the descendant of their particular prophet, if not The Prophet. A beautiful red-haired camp follower—and most "redheads" have blue eyes—would make a fitting concubine for any King or Chieftain; a powerful, magnificent, red-headed soldier of the forces of Alexander, a fitting lover for his widow, or even husband—if he happened to be an officer—for a daughter he had been unable to marry off to one of his own rank. Can it be from such alliances as these that the red heads, pale faces and blue eyes have come to those parts?

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

word Dard, and they apply it to the dwellers on the left bank. Throughout the rest of the country inhabited by the Dard races, a block roughly two hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and a hundred and fifty from north to south, the name is, to the best of my belief, entirely unknown. It is a name found in the ancient geographers, both Pliny and Ptolemy use it, but it is very difficult to define exactly the limits occupied by the tribes to whom the name was applied. It is perhaps safe to conclude that the whole of the mountainous portion of the Indus valley from the plains of India to the source of the great river, was held to be occupied by tribes so called.

Who the Dards were originally is a most puzzling question, and one for the trained ethnologist and philologist rather than for the plain soldier. However, following Leitner, Drew, and Biddulph,* who made a special study of the question, it is possible to arrive at certain broad principles, which is all that the general reader requires. The Dard races may be put down as largely Aryan, and the position now held by the different classes and languages points unerringly to waves of conquest. The mass of the population of Chitral are the Kho, speaking Khowar, and they probably represent the earliest wave of invasion which swept into Chitral from the north over the passes of the Hindu-Kush. So remote is their antiquity that they may fairly be considered aboriginal. They owned the whole of

* Leitner: "Dardistan." 1
Drew: "Jummoo and Kashmir Territories." 2
Biddulph: "Tribes of the Hindu-Kush." 3

1 [See 1: Leitner in AV3 Dard file--Analyst] 2 [See 1: Drew in AV1 Kashmir file--Analyst] 3 [See 4: Biddulph, AV3 Dard file:-Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

174 the country of Chitral, but were dispossessed by the
563 Ronus, the most honoured caste amongst the Dards, and by various other privileged classes, among whom are certainly the offshoots of families from Badakshan, who followed the fortunes of the founder of the present ruling dynasty. These upper classes have absorbed all the power, and treat the Kho with contempt, calling them "Fakir Múshkin," which
564 one might translate *les misérables*. The despised aborigines, however, have imposed their language on their superiors, and are interesting from the fact that they have no castes. This, I think, conclusively shows that they belong to the earliest Aryan race, and broke off from it before the acquisition of Hinduism; for in all other cases the Dard proper is emphatically a man with a caste. The principal caste is that of the Ronus, a small body held in the highest respect, always ranking next to royalty, and from whom the Wazirs are as a rule taken. Then come the Shins, below whom are the Yeshkuns, and lastly a collection of low castes, Krámins, Doms, etc., the millers, potters, and musicians of the com-
[582] munity. There is one plainly marked rule about the three leading castes; they give their daughters in marriage to the caste above, never to the caste below. The Ronus give their daughters in marriage to the ruling families, and in return receive the illegitimate daughters of princes, but not a daughter born in wedlock. The Shins give their daughters to Ronus, the Yeshkun to Shins, but a lawful daughter is never given to a man of the lower caste.

174 It would seem from a study of the map, and of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

174 the proportions in which the main castes occupy the country, that the later waves of Dard invasion rolled in succession up the Indus valley from the plains of the Punjab, penetrating into the side valleys as the tide rose, and either completely submerging the aborigines, or else driving them and the wrecks of previous waves into the inmost recesses of the hills. The first of these waves must have been Yeshkun,
197 the second Shin. There are no less than eleven different languages and dialects spoken in Dardistan, and their distribution confirms the above view. Putting aside eight of the dialects, and taking the northern half of the country under discussion, you find Khowar generally spoken in Chitral; Burishki, the language of the Yeshkuns, spoken in the inaccessible Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys; Shina, the language of the Shins, in the Gilgit, Astor,
162 Punyal, and Ghizr valleys. Roughly speaking, the proportion of Shins to the whole population falls from ninety-five per cent. at Koli, in the Lower Indus valley, to thirty-five per cent. at Gilgit. In Nagar, the Shins are about twenty per cent.; in Hunza, five per cent. of the population. The Yeshkuns are in inverse ratio. In Yasin, almost the entire population; in Hunza, eighty per cent.; in Nagar, sixty per cent.; in the side valleys of Astor and Sai seventy-eight and sixty-five per cent. of the people are Yeshkuns, driven up the valleys by the advancing Shins. The numbers generally go falling as the Indus valley is descended, until at Koli you find perhaps only four per cent. of the inhabitants are Yeshkun. In Chitral you find neither Shin nor Yeshkun; the waves had spent

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard A43

162 themselves at the Chamarkand and Shandur passes.

174 563 As to the dates of the different invasions, or the last stage occupied semi-permanently in the tribe wandering before Yeshkun or Shin turned from the plains, and came surging up the Indus valley, who can give a definite answer? Biddulph inclines to take the Yeshkun, or Boorish, as they style themselves, to be the Yuechi who conquered Bactria about 120 B.C. Boorish, he says, may stand for Pooroosha, the ancient name of Peshawar, the seat of the Indo-Scythian kingdom founded by the son of Kitolo of the little Yuechi tribe who conquered Gandhara and Ariana in the fifth century of our era. The tribe must have swept up the Indus, and occupied it and the tributary valleys from Jalkot to the Shigar valley in Baltistan, subjugating the Aryan inhabitants as it passed. The beauty of the Aryan women—famous in all time—would soon tend to merge the races, and to stamp the Aryan type on the invader.

172 Buddhism must have flourished now, as the countless "mannis," or long stone altars, which abound throughout the Hindu-Kush show. The topes, chortens, and sculptured Buddhas scattered about in Chitral, Punyal, Gilgit, Nagar, and Baltistan, also testify to the spread of the gentle faith, and the voice of history in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims is not silent. With the Buddhist era came a proficiency in the arts never since equalled, as is shown by the masonry, sculpture, and clean-cut sockets to support the timbers of wooden irrigation channels taken across 174 perpendicular cliffs near Gilgit. After an interval 563 of some centuries, but how soon seems impossible

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard Av3

to decide, followed the Shins. That the Shin race was Hindu there can be no reasonable doubt; this is shown by their peculiar regard for the cow, their strict regard for caste, and the absence of the slightest feeling or reverence for the Buddhist remains abounding within their limits. Biddulph places their last home before the final move at Pukli, the modern Hazara district, a corner between Kashmir, the Indus, and the plains of the Punjab, and thinks that they swept up the Indus valley as far as Leh. Certain enclaves of Shin-speaking villages in Baltistan, the inhabitants of which are called Brokpas, or highlanders, by the Baltis, prove the latter proposition. The Baltis again are Tartars, who swept in from the east, swamped the Shin population, and drove it in its turn into inaccessible fastnesses.

The smaller broken Dard tribes, living for the most part in the southern portion of Dardistan, it is unnecessary to mention in detail. Biddulph considers that they fled from the increasing pressure of the Afghans in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Like a shoal of small fish when attacked by a pike, they seem to have broken up and scattered in all directions, never to reunite. The Gawaré of the Indus valley, and the Gabars of the Chitral valley, near Narsat, are probably of the same stock, and may be identified with the Gabrak of the Emperor Baber's Memoirs, possibly with the Gourœi of the ancients. Similarly many other of the smaller scattered tribes may be traced to a single root located probably in the north of the Punjab, or in the Swat and Panjkora valleys. But the research is tedious,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

000 when called on, and who did excellent work. Had the country been held by Pathans a small force could never have done what ours did, we should have lost dozens of officers and men on the line of communication, and the real trouble would have begun when the final successful action gave us access to the heart of their country. The characteristics of the two races could not be more dissimilar.

301 An incidental proof, if one were needed, of the
• 174 connection of the Dards with an Aryan race is to be found in the ornaments worn by men and women. These are of gold, silver, or brass, many being of rather debased design, overloaded with filigree detail. But some of the designs are remarkable and interesting. The brooches worn by all classes are discs of metal with a large hole in the centre crossed by a pin, and are identical in design with the fibulæ so common in Scotland and among the ancients. The necklaces of round and oblong beads, one of which in gold is figured in the plate of ornaments, are curious. The beads, more especially the long ones, are practically replicas in metal work of beads in coloured clay at least two thousand years old, dug up on the site of ruined Buddhist cities in India. So marked a persistence in designs would go far to prove a connection between races employing them in the common objects of everyday use.